

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 034467

44

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE: THE
COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT

REF: A. MBFR VIENNA 513 B. NATO 810

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 034467

1. OUR PRELIMINARY VIEWS FOLLOW ON THE AD HOC GROUP REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE (PARA 13 REF A) REGARDING PHASE II COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT TO A COMMON CEILING. YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT THESE ARE PRELIMINARY IDEAS INTENDED AS A CONTRIBUTION TO ALLIANCE DISCUSSION. WE AGREE THAT CONTINUED EMPHASIS IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE COMMON CEILING REQUIRES AT LEAST SOME INDICATION TO THE EAST ON HOW A COMMON CEILING ESTABLISHED THROUGH A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT COULD BE EFFECTIVELY MAINTAINED. PRECISE LANGUAGE OF A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT WOULD HAVE TO DEPEND IN PART UPON THE FORM OF THE AGREEMENT.

2. REASSURING THE EAST ON A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT WOULD INVOLVE TWO PROBLEM AREAS. THE FIRST WOULD INVOLVE A MEANS BY WHICH SEPARATE SOVEREIGN STATES CAN UNDERTAKE A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT THAT WOULD BE BINDING UPON EACH OF THEM. THE SECOND WOULD INVOLVE A MEANS WHEREBY THE OTHER SIDE WOULD KNOW TO WHOM QUESTIONS AND COMPLAINTS ON OBSERVANCE OF THE COMMON CEILING SHOULD BE DIRECTED.

FYI: WE WISH TO AVOID DETAILED DISCUSSION OF MBFR FOLLOW-ON UNTIL CSCE FOLLOW-ON HAS BEEN SETTLED. END FYI. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO INDICATE TO THE EAST THAT THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED, BY PUTTING FORWARD ILLUSTRATIVE WAYS OF HOW A COMMON CEILING COMMITMENT MIGHT OPERATE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS WOULD REINFORCE THE EASTERN PERCEPTION THAT THE ALLIES ARE SERIOUS ABOUT THE COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE, AND PROVIDE AN ANSWER TO ONE OF THE OBJECTIONS TO THE COMMON CEILING WHICH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA HAVE USED.

3. THE FIRST PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED BY COMMITMENTS BY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS NOT TO TAKE ACTION WHICH WOULD INCREASE ITS SIDE'S AGGREGATE TOTAL. A POSSIBLE APPROACH WHICH IS INTENDED TO BE ILLUSTRATIVE COULD CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING POINTS AND COULD BE ADOPTED TO INCLUDE AIR MANPOWER AS APPROPRIATE:

-- EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD AGREE TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER EACH MAINTAINS IN THE AREA THAT WOULD CAUSE THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 034467

TOTAL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE WESTERN PORTION OF THE AREA TO EXCEED THE AGREED COMMON CEILING LEVEL.

-- EACH EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD AGREE TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER EACH MAINTAINS IN THE AREA THAT WOULD CAUSE THE TOTAL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE EASTERN PORTION OF THE AREA TO EXCEED THE AGREED COMMON CEILING LEVEL.

-- EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT WITH TERRITORY IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WOULD AGREE NOT TO PERMIT ANY ACTION BY OTHER STATES ON ITS TERRITORY WHICH WOULD CAUSE THE AGGREGATE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER PRESENT IN THE WESTERN PORTION OF THE AREA TO EXCEED THE AGREED COMMON CEILING LEVEL.

-- EACH EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT WITH TERRITORY IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WOULD AGREE NOT TO PERMIT ANY ACTION BY OTHER STATES ON ITS TERRITORY WHICH WOULD CAUSE THE AGGREGATE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER PRESENT IN THE EASTERN PORTION OF THE AREA TO EXCEED THE AGREED COMMON CEILING LEVEL.

-- THESE REQUIREMENTS WOULD BE MADE SUBJECT TO EXCEPTIONS FOR ACCOMMODATING CURRENT MILITARY PRACTICES.

4. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG THEMSELVES TO

ENSURE MAINTENANCE OF THE COMMON CEILING, AND TO PROVIDE FOR ADJUSTMENT OF NATIONAL FORCE LEVELS WITHIN THAT CEILING. MORE EXPLICIT STATEMENT FOR PERMITTED EXCEPTIONS COULD BE SPECIFIED, AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME. REFERENCE TO "OTHER STATES" IS DESIGNED TO TAKE CARE OF EASTERN CONCERNS ABOUT STATES SUCH AS FRANCE WHO ARE NOT PARTICIPATING AND ALSO SERVES AS A NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION.

5. AN ILLUSTRATIVE SOLUTION TO THE SECOND PROBLEM WOULD BE TO AGREE TO DESIGNATE A PERSON OR BODY WHO WOULD RECEIVE ON BEHALF OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ANY QUESTION
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 034467

OR OBJECTIONS RAISED BY THE EAST WITH RESPECT TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE COMMON CEILING. THE EAST WOULD IN TURN AGREE TO A SIMILAR DESIGNATION.

6. THIS TYPE OF ARRANGEMENT WOULD ASSURE THAT IF THE EAST HAD A QUESTION OR COMPLAINT CONCERNING THE COLLECTIVE CEILING, IT WOULD BE THE ALLIES AS A GROUP WHO WOULD DECIDE HOW TO RESPOND. THUS THE EAST WOULD HAVE A SINGLE "ADDRESS" AT WHICH TO RAISE CEILINGS ISSUES (AND SO COULD NOT COMPLAIN OF HAVING NO RECOURSE IN THE EVENT OF A PROBLEM), AND YET THE SOVIETS COULD NOT ATTEMPT TO CREATE NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS THROUGH THE BACK DOOR BY COMPLAINING ABOUT ANY FORCE INCREASES WHILE IGNORING A COMPENSATING DECREASE ELSEWHERE.

7. WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONTENT OF PARAS 3 AND 5 OF THIS MESSAGE COULD BE USED WITH THE EAST WHEN THE EAST RAISES THE SUBJECT, AND IF THE ALLIES AGREE WITH US THAT ALLIED POSITION ON CSCE FOLLOW-ON IS NOT THEREBY PREJUDICED, TO ILLUSTRATE THE SPECIFICITY OF THE COMMITMENT THE ALLIES ARE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE, AND TO GIVE GREATER CONTENT TO THE COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE. INGERSOLL

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